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JUSTICE TO ALL MEN, REGARDLESS OF RACE, COLOR, OR PREVIOUS CONDITION.

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SPEECH OF D. H. CHAMBERLAIN ESQ., OF BERKLEY, ON THE INVALIDATION OF SLAVE DEBTS.

The Speech which we print below, was delivered in the Constitutional Convention in this city on the 22nd of January, upon the ordinance to declare null and void all contracts, whereof the consideration was the purchase or sale of slaves.

Mr. President: I am extremely anxious that the measure which we are now considering, should receive the approval of a very large majority of the Convention, and it is with the hope that I may say something to aid to that majority, that I take the time of the Convention. Let me say at the outset that I am not a repudiator, that I am as far as any man here, as far even, to say, as far as my friend from Fairfield, from having any sympathy with any measure that looks either in principle or in fact towards repudiation; and when my friend from Fairfield yesterday took occasion to call us who favor the present measure repudiators, and charged that this was but the initial step, the entering wedge of repudiation, he made a statement, which every friend of this ordinance denies, and which neither the gentleman from Fairfield, nor any other gentleman has proved. I am neither in favor of repudiating nor scaling, nor staying by so much as one hour, any honest and just debt. I do not believe that this community, nor any community can ever reach sound and substantial financial prosperity, until it abandons, utterly and finally, all attempts to obstruct, delay or forbid the speedy collection by due process of law, of any and all just legal claims of one citizen upon another. It was upon this principle and in this spirit that I recorded my vote against the stay measure which passed this body a week ago, and it is with this principle in view and in this spirit, that I now approach this question. If I thought that the existing claims for slaves fell within the category of just, legal debts, I know that I have no prejudice against the system out of which they sprang so strong, as to lead me to favor any measure which would impair their validity or delay their collection, and it is only because I am persuaded that the nature of the debts, and the circumstances in which they now stand, are such as to take them out of the catalogue and companionship of just, legal claims; upon high considerations I say of justice and of law, not at all from feeling or prejudice, that I favor the present measure which forever extinguishes and bars such claims. My friend from Fairfield, told us yesterday that this measure grows out of our prejudice against slavery, which led us to forget and overlook the legal merits of the case. I desire for one to say to my friend that it is precisely upon the legal aspects of these claims, that I favor the ordinance before us.

Mr. President, the existing claims for slaves, of which there are thousands in this community, grew out of the peculiar institution of slavery. By special legislation, by positive municipal law, human beings were considered property in this State. They were not property naturally and without law—God and nature, the common, unwritten laws of human society, made them men. It was solely by the force of positive, enactments against natural justice and the law of nature, by virtue only of a positive, artificial code that they became property, wherever such a code did not exist, men were not property; or wherever having once existed, it ceased to exist, men ceased to be property and assumed their natural condition. The nature and tenure of slave property, was consequently at all times and under all circumstances peculiar and precarious. It rested not like other property upon nature and the original constitution of human society, but unlike any other property, it rested solely and exclusively on written, positive, special, municipal regulations. Such was the case in the slaveholding states of the Union, and while I do not deny or seek to evade the fact that slaves were by the statutes of South Carolina property, and that this property was tolerated and even recognized by the General Government, yet I do claim that from its very nature, property in human beings, was a peculiar, limited, uncertain nature, liable to dangers to which no other property was exposed and held by whomsoever it was held, at a peculiar risk and by a tenure liable to be broken by the same process by which it was created.

This, therefore, is my first observation; that at all times, even in its palmy days, when the mountain of slavery stood strong, when the dogmas of Calhoun and Hammond passed unchallenged, and South Carolina in the insolent frenzy of her madness was ready to throw down the gauntlet to the world, even then human beings were only a limited, peculiar, *defecto* property, held by a peculiar tenure and at peculiar risks. It results, then, from this position that such

SPEECH OF MR. PILLSBURY.

REMARKS OF Hon. Gilbert Pillsbury, delivered at the Mass Meeting held at the Club House, on Monday evening, March 30th.

This State has passed through many and terrible vicissitudes since 1860. The smoke of the first gun fired upon Sumter has not yet cooperated. It arose, and spread like a pall over this, and all the other unconstructed States settling down by degrees, till it buried them all in total defeat, and utter financial ruin. Since that time, there has been to this people but one period of promise, and of hope; and that was when they were humble, and subdued, by the surrender of the last Confederate army to the Federal forces. It was then that they scarcely dared ask, or expected to receive favor from their exulting conquerors. It was then that any terms which might spare their forfeited lives would have been entertained with alacrity. It was then also, that the North, having exhibited its power to quell rebellion against the government, and after having vindicated its right to re-establish that government wherever it had been destroyed, offered most magnanimous terms to the fallen enemy. These terms would then have been joyfully accepted, and this desolated country would by this time have advanced far upwards from the ruins in which it still lies prostrate, had not the traitor at Washington, joined hands with the traitors of the South, to demand everything just as though they had never sinned. Following his lead, they have offered every measure of reasonable reconstruction, till now they are about to see their ignoble leader banished from his high position and doomed to an eternal, disgraceful retirement. Still, their enmity does not in the least abate. They gloat over the defeat of the Constitution in Alabama; exult in advance over our reported discomfort in Arkansas; boast of what they intend to do in Virginia; and now here in South Carolina, are trying to move heaven and earth to squelch the new Constitution which has been formed with the utmost care, and generosity, and is soon to be submitted to the people for ratification. Strange infatuation! Should they succeed, what can they expect but a future still more gloomy than the past? If they succeed in smothering this new born hope, I see nothing before them but the desolation of despair. For their sakes, if for nothing else, we must not suffer them to commit such wanton suicide. They may not at present accord to us either philanthropy or patriotism, but if we succeed for them and in spite of them, the day will come when they will rejoice that their own madness has been overruled, and they have been saved in spite of their very selves. Sometimes resistance to an evil is more painful, and disastrous than would be the endurance of it. If the former ruling classes of the South regard it as an evil that anarchy, confusion and misrule be displaced by well regulated government; if they regard it as an evil that millions of chattels have become citizens, it is useless for them to resist it. The decree of the people has gone forth, recorded by the feat of the Almighty. And where as in this case, *Vox Populi est Vox Dei*, the voice of the people is the voice of God, for a distracted, impoverished, minded people to resist, would be worse than "kicking against the pricks," it would be butting out their brains against the eternal, adamant walls of justice and right.

It is true that the changes through which this people have passed are great. The whole system of their former government has been supplanted; and for them to become reconciled to the new order of things requires effort, requires sacrifice, did we see them inclined to make that effort, and sacrifice, we should thank God, and take courage. But the reverse of this is true. They seem to have plunged headlong into the slough; and instead of making manly, determined efforts to regain the solid land, they pitch, and flounder right where they are, utterly declining any assistance from those who stand upon the bank, sinking all the while deeper in the mire. But they must be rescued at any hazard. We have formed a good Constitution, and we must spare no effort to secure its ratification. Then we must select such men to make and execute the laws as shall be firm, undaunted, but yet, generous and just. We must move straight forward in the work which has been inaugurated, without fear or favor, and then the result will be victory to ourselves, and eventually blessings untold to our enemies.

We shall make South Carolina ere long, prosperous and happy, in spite of any, and every suicidal measure upon which, in her madness and blindness she is so terribly intent. We must raise the flag on high and boldly follow its lead. We must not abate one jot of faith or hope, till our work is fully accomplished, till South Carolina shall again shine forth among the galaxy of States, beautiful because she is prosperous and happy, but thrice beautiful because he is, really, and forever will.

The Late King of Bavaria refused to marry the Princess Sophia. Charge, a hasty temper. Specification, she boxed her maid's ears with a saucer.

PUBLIC SPIRIT.

There is nothing that helps a place along so rapidly as a proper exhibition of public spirit on the part of its citizens—especially of that portion of them who from their wealth or the magnitude of their business operations are in a position to make their influence felt for good or ill in the community. A man may be born, grow up, pass through life and die in a place, and yet that place never receives one particle of benefit from his existence. He might as well never have lived. A turnip or cabbage would exert just as favorable an influence on the public mind as he does. He exists, breathes, vegetates,—makes money, perhaps, invests it where it will pay the best,—and dies at last, and leaves his wealth, and that is all, to remind any one that he ever lived. He did nothing to help build up the place he called his home, he suggested no improvements, nor made any himself, and only thought how he could add a dollar to his bank account, or make his investments pay better than they had done before.

On the other hand, there are men who realize that life is given for some better purpose than the mere hoarding of money. They believe they have public as well as private duties to perform, and a portion, at least, of the wealth which they accumulate belongs, in some sense, to the community among whom it is accumulated. With this end in view, they seek investments at home instead of going abroad; they purchase land and improve it; they erect dwelling houses and thus encourage immigration from other places; they enlarge their own business as fast as good judgment would seem to dictate, and give employment to as many mechanics as possible; they encourage others to enlarge their operations by loaning them means, or furnishing increased accommodations in the way of buildings or machinery. In these and many other ways they contribute to the growth and prosperity of the community to which they form a part. They give liberally in aid of the charitable and religious organizations of the place, and do it cheerfully, as though it were a pleasure rather than a mere duty. Such men are a blessing in the community. Their influence is like that of the sun and rain upon vegetation. Everything seems to smile all about them; their path is marked with beauty, and flowers seem to spring up beneath their very feet.

And the influence of such men is not confined merely to what they do themselves. Man is an imitative creature. He is always seeking for models, and apt to follow them, be they good or bad. Genuine original men are scarce. Therefore he who sets a good example not only benefits his race by what good he does himself, but he stimulates others to do good likewise, and the influence thus set in motion goes on extending until it compasses the whole earth, perhaps. No man can tell when or where his influence will end, nor what form it will eventually put on. Now a public-spirited man becomes a motive power, to propel those around him who are capable of any motion at all. Some men are not. They are born to fill a small circle, and they cannot fill a large one. Public spirit is not to be expected of such. They are mile-stones on the road to point the way they never travel themselves. Thus they serve their purpose, doubtless, but their position is not to be envied by live men, who have higher ideas of life. We have known some such men, of whom it may be said they are fifty years behind the age. They are contented in the possession of personal comfort and ease; their thoughts are never troubled about public improvements, except it be the fear that they may be taxed to pay for them. What was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them.

One can conceive what a place would be if entirely controlled by such men—a Sleepy Hollow kind of a paradise, devoted to the past, untroubled about the present, and never even dreaming of the future. If such men ruled the world, railways, telegraphs and labor-saving machines would be unknown, and we should eventually relapse into barbarism.

It is a duty men owe to themselves and their fellow men to encourage a liberal public spirit. It is the opponent of selfishness, enlarges the heart, and makes the world better and more fit for the residence of beings with souls. It increases the great sum of human happiness, and promotes the best good of the community and the world. A public-spirited man is generally a safe guide to follow in matters affecting the temporal as well as spiritual good of the human race.—Reporter.

IMPEACHMENT MEANS.

1. To vindicate the laws.
2. To preserve the authority of the Constitution.
3. To prevent a co-ordinate branch of the Government from violently transcending its true powers.
4. To defeat usurpation.
5. To insure domestic tranquility.
6. To strengthen public order.
7. To still further define what constitutional government means.
8. To prevent the wresting of power from the people by refusing to recognize the legal acts of their representatives.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN OPPOSITION.

A political party fits itself for power in opposition. That is to say it works itself clear from many trammels and complications, which inevitably beset a party in power, and has the inestimable advantage of disowning all responsibility. Every party in power must by the laws of its existence and the frailty of human nature, commit many blunders and make many mistakes. It always has to take the initiative in the most important questions, whose right solution can only be ascertained by experiment. The party in opposition can and should oppose everything it considers to be injurious to the country, but it fails to show itself a truly great party, if it does not put forward some definite plan, which it offers as wiser and better than the one it opposes. The Democratic party has failed to do this. It is at present merely an element of negation in the body politic. It asserts that the Republican party has done everything wrong, yet itself proposes no plan whereby things could be made right. As some one has said, the Democratic party is only the Republican party of six years ago, meaning, of course, that it has accepted the issues of the Republican party of that time, while the present Republican has progressed as far beyond them. It cannot be denied as a general thing that there is least education, the Democratic party is the strongest, in the parlous of great cities, in the wilds of thinly inhabited sections, in States where there is a large class of uneducated people. These are not to be enlisted into high reforms of society. The appeals that are made to them must be of a lower order than to the better educated. Talk to them about taxes, not about freedom and progress. Tell them of high wages, more than justice and humanity. As is natural a temporary depression in trade is ascribed to misgovernment, when it is the inevitable effect of the laws of nature. The Democratic party has done its part during the past six years to excite the passions of the lower orders, but for principle or platform, it has put forward none since the war. It has not fairly adopted repudiation, but has thus far fought its battles on the principle of opposition to each and every plan of the Republican party. We do not defend the Republican party from its mistakes, but we think the country would prefer that it should remedy them itself, rather than trust the Democratic party to do it on a record of mere opposition.

A WORD FOR NEWSPAPERS.

Nothing is more common than to hear people talk of what they pay newspapers for advertising, etc., as so much given in charity. Newspapers, by enhancing the value of property in their neighborhoods, and giving the localities in which they are published a reputation abroad, benefit all such, particularly if they are merchants or real estate owners, thrice the amount yearly of the meagre sum which they pay for their support. Besides, every public spirited citizen has a laudable pride in having a paper which he is not ashamed of, even though he should pick it up in New York or Washington. A good-looking, thriving sheet helps to sell property; gives character to the locality; in all respects is a desirable public convenience. If, from any cause, the matter in the local or editorial columns should not be quite up to your standard, do not cast it aside and pronounce it of no account, until you are satisfied that there has not been any more labor bestowed upon it than is paid for. If you want a good, readable sheet, it must be supported. And it must not be supported in a spirit of charity either, but because you feel a necessity to support it.—Delaware County Republican.

INDIVIDUAL INFLUENCE.—Robert Collyer says:—

"Out of your life there flows, every day, some spiritual influence as true in its nature and degree than any ever known. You may never write a book, or even a letter; but then, no more did Jesus Christ. No mistake can be greater than to suppose that I have done my duty by my home, in filling it with plenty, or my children, in securing them the best teachers; or that I have been true to my marriage vows, because I have kept myself pure, and never stinted my wife in her expenses; or to Church and State, because I have voted right on election days, and been in my time a deacon. Oh! friend, I tell you unspeakably more in that mysterious and most holy influence of a sound, elastic, cheerful human soul, in a sound body to match. I see once in a while a home, in which I am just as sure that it is impossible for the children to go radically wrong, as it is for the planet to turn the other way on her axis. The whole law of their life, of their spiritual gravitation, is fixed by the strong, sweet father and mother, resolute, above all to preserve this right attraction, though there may be less at last in counted dollars."

POSTAL DISPATCH.—A banking institution in New York, early in November last, mailed 2,300 letters to individuals in as many counties in the United States, each requiring an answer, and January 1st had received answers to all except ten.

"LIVE AND LET LIVE."

"What is the use of a man working himself to death in order to make a living?" is a question which laboring men are continually propounding, and which workingmen's "strike's" attempt in vain to answer. The Danes have a proverb that "A dead man is good for nothing," and the significance of this proverb ought to be impressed upon statesmen and political economists. A dead man produces nothing, consumes nothing, buys nothing, so that the exchange of a living laborer for a dead body, or the reduction of a strong working man, with a hearty family, into a feeble pauper, with a brood of sickly, ignorant, vicious children—made such through idle poverty—is just so much less to the community as is the sum of what he might produce added to the cost of himself and dependents as non-producers.

It is the lack of valuation or appreciation shown for workingmen by political leaders that keeps the mass (to use a coarse saying) with their "noses to the grindstone." If intelligent legislators would consider the "claims of labor" as they ought to be considered, we should not be obliged to chronicle the occurrence of "strikes" or the complaints of laborers that their wages are inadequate for decent support. There is an obvious inequality between the sum of work, daily or weekly, expected from hard-toiling mechanics and their assistants, and the sum looked for to be performed by clerks in offices or employees of government. As a rule, government offices are open at 9 o'clock A. M., and close at 3 or 4 o'clock P. M., while the salaries paid for official labor range from double to ten or twenty fold the wages of people laboring in common vocations. All this is wrong. There should not be such disparity of labor and compensation between classes of our citizens. Human beings claim are worthy of more thought than horses and cattle—and yet, as a general usage, we have greater consideration for beasts of burthen than our fellow-creatures who toil that we may enjoy comfort and luxury. Men demand leisure and rest—demand the privilege and opportunity to become thrifty and intelligent. And according as they do become so, they are more capable of doing the world's work. Men ask for wages, not to hoard or hide away, but to expend in the purchase of goods manufactured and sold by other men. High wages, then, become dispensed through various channels, and return to increase the common stock, and to yield new custom and profit to all who pay wages. These facts are so evident that it is a wonder capitalists and working men cannot see them in the same light. That they do not, unfortunately, is the cause of so much misunderstanding and oppression; and it should be the task of statesmen to shape legislation in such a way as to encourage and set an example to employers and employed, that they may be led to adjust the relations of labor and capital, so as to insure to every workingman a "fair day's wages for a fair day's labor," and impress upon all alike the value and fitness of that common-sense motto, "live and let live!"

The New Orleans Tribune gives the following capital contrast of the two Moses, of whom Andrew is the latest specimen:

The true Moses was the meekest of men; our Moses is the most unlish. The true Moses was a man of prayer; our Moses is a man of oaths. The true Moses was slow of speech, and had his brother for a mouth piece; our Moses unfortunately speaks for himself. The true Moses was a great law-giver; our Moses is a notorious law-breaker. The true Moses forsook Egypt not fearing the wrath of its king; our Moses has gone down to Egypt for help. The true Moses turned his back on the foe of his country; our Moses has turned his back on his friends and the friends of his country. The true Moses "endured" to the end; our Moses has betrayed and abandoned the cause to which he swore allegiance. The true Moses led an oppressed people out of bondage; our Moses promised to do it, but left them to their fates. The true Moses labored to save the people from the bite of fiery serpents; our Moses has sought to have all the people bitten by them i. e., Copperheads. When the true Moses died, the children of Israel wept for him 30 days; when our Moses shall leave the White House for Tennessee, all the people will say amen. The man who reeled into office ought to be ruled out.

The Rev. James Lynch, a colored preacher of Mississippi, and well known in Baltimore, challenges any one in the State to discuss the question of suffrage with him before the voters of the State. He remarks: My color alone should be no objection to an acceptance of this challenge, inasmuch as it will take no part in the task. I will only use my heart, my brains and my tongue."

A missionary among the freedmen in Tennessee, after relating to some little colored children the story of Ananias and Sapphira, asked them why God did not strike every body dead who tells a lie; when one of the least in the room quietly answered, "because there would't be anybody left!"